

## Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 ATHENS 04316 251546Z  
ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 /026 W  
-----114486 251551Z /75

O R 251500Z MAY 78  
FM AMEMBASSY ATHENS  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 5980  
INFO AMEMBASSY ANKARA  
AMEMBASSY NICOSIA  
USMISSION USNATO  
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

C O N F I D E N T I A L ATHENS 4316

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS  
TAGS: PEPR, GR, US  
SUBJ: CARAMANLIS: LOOKING FOR REASSURANCE

1. PRIME MINISTER CARAMANLIS TRAVELS TO WASHINGTON THIS WEEKEND HOPING HIS TALKS THERE WILL CONFIRM THE CORRECTNESS OF HIS PRO-WESTERN, PRO-AMERICAN POLICY. HE TRAVELS AT A MOMENT WHEN THAT POLICY IS UNDER SUSTAINED AND DANGEROUS FIRE. HIS INCLINATION WILL BE TO MAKE STRONG POINTS IN PRIVATE ABOUT CYPRUS, THE AEGEAN, AND ABOUT AMERICAN POLICY IN THE EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN. WHAT HE HEARS IN DEFENSE OF AMERICAN POLICY IS UNDOUBTEDLY IMPORTANT. BUT THE ATMOSPHERE THAT SURROUNDS THE TALKS WILL BE EVEN MORE IMPORTANT. CARAMANLIS BELIEVES IN PERSONAL DIPLOMACY AND IS PROUD OF THE RAPPORT WHICH HE FEELS HE HAS ESTABLISHED WITH OTHER WESTERN EUROPEAN LEADERS DURING THE PAST FOUR YEARS. HE UNDOUBTEDLY HOPES TO BUILD A SIMILAR RELATIONSHIP WITH PRESIDENT CARTER.

2. THE PRIME MINISTER REQUIRES OUR SPECIAL ATTENTION BECAUSE THE GREEK-AMERICAN ALLIANCE IS ESPECIALLY  
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 ATHENS 04316 251546Z

STRAINED. IF HE CAN BE REASSURED, WE CAN REINFORCE THOSE ELEMENTS THAT CAN CAUSE OUR ALLIANCE TO ENDURE.

3. TENSION IN OUR PARTNERSHIP WITH GREECE CAN BE TRACED TO THE EROSION OF SEVERAL OF THE ASSUMPTIONS THAT HAVE FORMED ITS FOUNDATION FOR NEARLY THIRTY YEARS:

-- IT IS NO LONGER POSSIBLE TO ASSUME THAT GREECE AND THE UNITED STATES SHARE AS COMMON A PERCEPTION OF THE THREAT TO PEACE AND SECURITY IN THE AREA. THE UNITED STATES IS FIXED ON THE DANGER FROM THE NORTH; GREECE IS TRANSFIXED BY THE DANGER IT PERCEIVES FROM TURKEY.

-- IT IS NO LONGER POSSIBLE TO ASSUME THAT THE PUBLIC CONSENSUS ON THE DESIRABILITY OF ANCHORING GREECE'S FUTURE TO THE WEST IS AS BROAD AS IN THE PAST. OPPOSITION LEADER ANDREAS PAPANDEOU WHOSE POPULAR APPEAL IS ON THE RISE, PRESENTS AN ALTERNATIVE FOREIGN POLICY WHICH ADVOCATES THE VIRTUAL RUPTURING OF THOSE SPECIAL TIES.

-- IT IS NO LONGER POSSIBLE TO ASSUME THAT OUR ALLIANCE WILL BE SUSTAINED BY AN UNCRITICALLY PRO-AMERICAN GREEK PUBLIC. MOST INFLUENTIAL GREEKS ARE HIGHLY CRITICAL OF AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY IN THE EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN AND ARE CONVINCED THAT WE ARE NOT EFFECTIVELY PROTECTING GREEK INTERESTS.

4. NEVERTHELESS, THE OVERALL EDIFICE CONTAINS ELEMENTS WHICH GIVE SOME HOPE OF REGENERATION EVEN IF THE STRUCTURE OF THE PARTNERSHIP HAS BEEN ERODED:

-- FIRST, A MAJORITY OF THE PUBLIC CONTINUES TO HOLD AN ALMOST ANACHRONISTIC VIEW OF THE UNITED STATES. THE BLOWS TO AMERICAN CONFIDENCE AND WILL DURING THE 1960'S  
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03     ATHENS 04316 251546Z

AND EARLY 1970'S HAVE NOT BEEN TRANSLATED INTO DIMINISHED GREEK PERCEPTIONS OF THE UNITED STATES. WHILE TROUBLESOME AT TIMES, THEIR EXAGGERATED EXPECTATIONS OF THE UNITED STATES MAKE MOST GREEKS -- PERPETUAL CLIENTS IN SEARCH OF A PATRON -- ANXIOUS TO HANG ONTO THE AMERICAN TIE. WE SHOULD NOTE, HOWEVER, THAT THOUGH THEY COME LATE AND ARE STILL LOW KEY, SMALL BUT POTENTIALLY DANGEROUS DOUBTS ARE GROWING AMONG THE INFLUENTIAL GREEKS ABOUT OUR WISDOM, STEADFASTNESS, AND RELIABILITY IN CARRYING OUT AMERICA'S ROLE AS A GLOBAL LEADER.

-- SECOND, ANTI-AMERICANISM IS TODAY PECULIARLY RESTRICTED TO POLITICAL ISSUES AND STEMS PRIMARILY FROM THE BELIEF THAT THE ADMINISTRATION IS PRO-TURKISH BECAUSE IT IS NOT PRO-GREEK. THE KIND OF TRENDY REJECTION OF AMERICAN CULTURE, VALUES AND WORKS THAT GRIPPED MUCH OF EUROPE IN THE LAST DECADE HAS NOT TAKEN ROOT HERE. TO THE CONTRARY, THE CONSCIOUS AND UNCONSCIOUS DESIRE TO EMULATE THE "AMERICAN WAY OF LIFE" IS VERY MUCH ALIVE IN GREEK SOCIETY.

-- THIRD, CARAMANLIS REMAINS A STRONG LEADER COMMITTED TO A VISION OF GREECE ANCHORING ITSELF TO THE WEST.

HE LOOKS TO THE UNITED STATES FOR BOTH THE MUSCLE  
AND THE LEADERSHIP OF THE WESTERN COALITION. AND  
HE WISHES TO DAMPEN ANTI-AMERICANISM WHICH CAN ONLY  
FUEL PAPANDREOU'S BANDWAGON.

5. CARAMANLIS FEELS EXPOSED -- DOMESTICALLY TO PAPANDREOU AND  
EXTERNALLY TO THE TURKS. BY SEEKING HIS VIEWS ON WHAT POSITIVE  
STEPS WE CAN TAKE TOGETHER TO RESOLVE THE GREEK-TURKISH PROBLEM,  
BY DEMONSTRATING UNDERSTANDING FOR HIS DIFFICULTIES AND SHOWING A  
SYMPATHETIC WILLINGNESS TO LISTEN TO HIM, WE CAN STRENGTHEN HIS  
WILL TO PURSUE POLICIES THAT ARE IN OUR MUTUAL INTEREST.  
MCCLOSKEY

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

## Message Attributes

**Automatic Decaptioning:** Z  
**Capture Date:** 01 jan 1994  
**Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Current Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED  
**Concepts:** FOREIGN RELATIONS  
**Control Number:** n/a  
**Copy:** SINGLE  
**Draft Date:** 25 may 1978  
**Decaption Date:** 20 Mar 2014  
**Decaption Note:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
**Disposition Action:** RELEASED  
**Disposition Approved on Date:**  
**Disposition Case Number:** n/a  
**Disposition Comment:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
**Disposition Date:** 20 Mar 2014  
**Disposition Event:**  
**Disposition History:** n/a  
**Disposition Reason:**  
**Disposition Remarks:**  
**Document Number:** 1978ATHENS04316  
**Document Source:** CORE  
**Document Unique ID:** 00  
**Drafter:** n/a  
**Enclosure:** n/a  
**Executive Order:** GS  
**Errors:** N/A  
**Expiration:**  
**Film Number:** D780221-0323  
**Format:** TEL  
**From:** ATHENS  
**Handling Restrictions:**  
**Image Path:**  
**ISecure:** 1  
**Legacy Key:** link1978/newtext/t19780521/aaaaarmf.tel  
**Line Count:** 127  
**Litigation Code IDs:**  
**Litigation Codes:**  
**Litigation History:**  
**Locator:** TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM  
**Message ID:** 6afe4497-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc  
**Office:** ACTION SS  
**Original Classification:** CONFIDENTIAL  
**Original Handling Restrictions:** EXDIS  
**Original Previous Classification:** n/a  
**Original Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Page Count:** 3  
**Previous Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Previous Classification:** CONFIDENTIAL  
**Previous Handling Restrictions:** EXDIS  
**Reference:** n/a  
**Retention:** 0  
**Review Action:** RELEASED, APPROVED  
**Review Content Flags:**  
**Review Date:** 18 may 2005  
**Review Event:**  
**Review Exemptions:** n/a  
**Review Media Identifier:**  
**Review Release Date:** n/a  
**Review Release Event:** n/a  
**Review Transfer Date:**  
**Review Withdrawn Fields:** n/a  
**SAS ID:** 2578851  
**Secure:** OPEN  
**Status:** NATIVE  
**Subject:** CARAMANLIS: LOOKING FOR REASSURANCE  
**TAGS:** PEPR, OVIP, GR, US, (CARAMANLIS, CONSTANTINE)  
**To:** STATE  
**Type:** TE  
**vdkgvwkey:** odb://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS\_Docs/6afe4497-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc  
**Review Markings:**  
Sheryl P. Walter  
Declassified/Released  
US Department of State  
EO Systematic Review  
20 Mar 2014  
**Markings:** Sheryl P. Walter Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 20 Mar 2014